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Lyndon Johnson: Counterfeit Confederate

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By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK
Editor, Richmond (Va.) *News Leader*

THE BAND BROKE into "Dixie," the night they nominated Lyndon out in L.A., but there wasn't much singing back home in the South. To the party professionals assembled in the Sports Arena, it seemed a consummate stroke; they wet their pencils and began calculating the electoral vote Senator Johnson's name would guarantee the ticket: Texas, they said, means 24; plus 8 from Oklahoma makes 32, plus 8 from Arkansas is 40, plus 10 from Louisiana is 50, plus 8 from Mississippi and 11 from Alabama and 10 from Florida makes 79 . . . . By the time they finished, they were up to 146, and the election was in the bag.

And there is this to be said for the reasoning of the professionals: on paper it looked very good. The ticket needed some balance. In Mr. Kennedy, the party had a Presidential nominee who was young, liberal, Catholic, a Northerner. And how were these assets, or liabilities as the case may be, to be supplemented? Why, obviously enough, by awarding the Vice Presidential nomination to a man with a touch of gray, a man with a reputation of moderate conservatism, a Protestant, a Southerner, in brief, by tapping Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson, 52, the pride of the Pedernales River. To be sure, some of the far-left liberals might be offended, but where did they have to go? A handful of labor leaders would object; they could be soothed. The South's electoral votes were vital; LBJ could bring them in.

Well, it may be so; it may be so. But I venture the opinion, for whatever it may be worth, that in putting this Counterfeit Confederate on the ticket, Mr. Kennedy and his advisors have blundered. If Mr. Kennedy sweeps the South, it will not be because of Lyndon, but in spite of him; for the Senator from Texas, however he may be respected on the Senate floor, is neither liked nor admired below the Potomac. In the South of 1960, as in the South of 1870, a carpetbagger may be bad, but a scalawag is worse.

Why this resentment? When it comes to elected officials, the South is a sophisticated region; its politics, to borrow from Artemus Ward, are of an

exceedin' accommodatin' character. With a bland and tolerant eye, the South embraces the humbug, the demagog, the cornball; nowhere on earth are the deals and stratagems of legislative in-fighting savored with greater enjoyment than in the capitols at Jackson, Baton Rouge and Richmond. Early in his life, if he gives a hoot about such things, the Southerner learns that politics is a body contact sport, not to be played by those whose tender sensibilities are easily bruised. The ordinary voter asks very little of the men he puts in office.

But he asks, in the big things, a certain loyalty. It is a requirement that goes beyond party and transcends personalities and political issues. There died in Virginia this spring a state legislator, a liberal with a great mind and a great heart, who had fought Harry Bryd in season and out for 30 years. He was loved by thousands of Virginians who never would have voted for him because they saw in this man—his name was Robert White-

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head—a man with an abiding loyalty to his people and to his political principles. You knew where Robert stood. He was critical of the South, but he was proud of it too, and he never compromised a conviction.

Lyndon Johnson is not seen in this way. If he had built a reputation over a period of many years as a "Southern liberal," in the pattern of Alabama's Hill and Sparkman, there would not have been nearly the reaction that erupted last winter at his role in leading the fight for a further civil rights bill. If it had been established that he believed deeply and profoundly both in the need for this legislation and in some constitutional justification for it, his loyalty to personal principle would have won a measure of respect.

No such record, and no such dedication, were in evidence. "South is Betrayed Again by Johnson for the Sake of His Own Ambitions," cried the Augusta *Herald*. "He is despised by the people he has betrayed," said the Shreveport *Journal*. "A political charlatan," said the Nashville *Banner*. "The Southern Benedict Arnold," said the Jacksonville *Times-Union*. In South Carolina, the Columbia *State* termed him "the Texas Yankee." In Virginia, the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* bitterly assailed him as "just another office-hungry Senator." In Birmingham, *South* magazine called him a "political polygamist."

THE DEEPER HURTS came in the weeks that followed. Bit by the Presidential bug, Lyndon turned his back upon the South. Before a cock could crow thrice, this son of Confederate Texas was denying every identification with his Dixie brothers. A Southerner? Not he. He was a one-hundred-per cent American, and if some regional label were required, why, he was a Westerner, podner. Look at the chaps and cowboy boots. The cartoonists had a field day. His campaign literature had a fine mesquite flavor: "The Johnson home was in the rocky frontier country of Texas on the banks of the Pedernales River. The stone houses where his grandparents fought off Commanche raids still stand in Johnson City today."

This feeling that Johnson is ashamed to be seen in public with a Southerner, as Antony said of the wound inflicted by Brutus, is perhaps the most unkind cut of all, but the antipathy of many Southerners for Senator Johnson rests on other considerations also. There was, for example, the incident of H. R. 3. We do not forget such things.

This occurred in August of 1958. It will be recalled that the Supreme Court was under fire at the time for a series of opinions in which the court had extended the powers of the central government at the expense of the powers of the States. Among these opinions was the court's ruling in the Steve Nelson case, asserting that the Smith Act had pre-empted on behalf of the Congress all power to enact legislation in the field of subversion against the United States. The effect was to invalidate the anti-subversion laws of more than 40 States.

Virginia's Congressman Howard W. Smith, author of the Smith Act, knew that his act never had been intended to do any such thing. He therefore introduced a bill, known as H. R. 3, to put the State and Federal relationship back in better balance. The bill was no more than a guide to judicial construction; it said simply that Congress was not to be presumed to have pre-empted a legislative field unless Congress specifically asserted such an intention. Over the noisy opposition of such liberals as New York's Emanuel Celler, H. R. 3 sailed through the House by an astonishingly wide margin.

ON THE SENATE SIDE, a careful count indicated that a companion Senate bill, S-654, would pass by 46 to 39. States righters had reckoned without Lyndon. The majority leader never performed with greater brilliance than he performed that August 21. He talked Florida's Senator Smathers into pairing his vote for the bill with the vote of Oklahoma's absent Senator Monroney against the bill. He persuaded Senator Young of North Dakota, Senator Frear of Delaware, and Senator Kerr of Oklahoma, all supporters of the bill, to take a walk down the corridors when the bell sounded for a roll call vote. He induced Senator Lausche of Ohio—against the Ohioan's own better judgment, as he ruefully confessed the next day—to switch his vote. And while the roll call actually was in progress, he saw to it that Republican Senator Bennett of Utah was high-pressured into voting against the bill in order to prevent a tie that might have embarrassed the Vice President.

In the end, a vote that had been expected to go 46-39 in favor of the bill wound up 41-40 against the bill, and a statement of sound governmental policy went by the boards. Florida's two Senators did not vote. Every other Senator from the Deep South or the Old South went down the line for the bill: Hill, Sparkman, McClellan, Fulbright, Russell, Talmadge, Ellender, Long, Eastland, Stennis, Ervin, Jordan, Johnston, Thurmond, Byrd, and Robertson. Even Gore of Tennessee voted for it. But not Lyndon Johnson.

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Now, if there is one thing made clear by the Index of key votes compiled by Americans for Constitutional Action, it is that the impression of "Southern conservatism" has a good deal of fiction mixed in with the fact. The ACA's analysis of 77 key Senate roll calls over a five year period discloses a good deal of liberalism in the nine States of the late Confederacy. These are ACA's ratings on support of constitutional principles by Southern Senators:

Hill	15%
Sparkman	11%
McClellan	58%
Fulbright	26%
Holland	58%
Smathers	38%
Russell	61%
Talmadge	53%
Ellender	44%
Long	33%
Eastland	62%
Stennis	60%
Ervin	43%
Jordan	51%
Johnston	29%
Thurmond	78%
Byrd	92%
Robertson	81%

But on this Index, Lyndon Johnson winds up with a rating of 10, exactly on a par with Proxmire of Wisconsin and Engle of California, one point below Kennedy's 11 and five points below Paul Douglas' 15.

Johnson was recorded on 71 of the ACA's 77 key votes; he took a conservative position precisely seven times: In 1956, he voted to exempt natural gas producers from Federal regulation. In 1957 he voted against a fairly fantastic proposal by Wayne Morse to authorize 200,000 public housing units a year; he also voted against a civil rights amendment proposing to vest wide powers in the Attorney General to bring suits on behalf of Negro complainants. (He is committed, by his pledge to the Democratic national platform, to support this "Title III" amendment now.) In 1958, he voted against a move by Senator Kennedy to liberalize unemployment compensation benefits, against an unwise effort by Douglas to cut income and excise taxes, and against Senator McNamara's $2 billion school construction bill. In 1959, he voted in favor of retaining an anti-Communist oath in the National Defense Education Act. Those seven votes are the sum total of the conservative votes cast by Senator Johnson, 1955-59, in terms of the ACA ratings.

What of his 64 other recorded votes in this period? Eight roll calls raised questions of private ownership as opposed to government ownership: Johnson took a conservative position on none of these. Eight roll calls raised questions of individual liberty as opposed to government coercion; Johnson took a conservative position on none of these. Ten roll calls raised questions of policy against communism; Johnson took a conservative position on one of these—the anti-Communist oath noted above.

Where do we find Lyndon Johnson in this period? With the exception of two votes already mentioned, against especially extravagant programs of school construction and public housing, the Senator from Texas plumped for every significant spending and subsidy scheme that reached the floor. He supported lavish spending for local sewage works, aid to depressed areas, high crop supports, subsidies for fishing vessels, and subsidies for drydocks (even Kennedy opposed him on this last one). His affirmative vote represented the difference between passing and killing Hubert Humphrey's $400 million scheme for a Federal Youth Conservation Corps. He voted for Federal construction of the Hells Canyon dam; he voted to override the 1959 veto of an omnibus public works bill; he refused last year to accept a cut of even $100 million in a $1.3 billion bill for foreign military aid. He was entirely agreeable to having American tax funds poured into Communist-dominated satellites.

Johnson's votes in the field of labor are especially notable. Between June 13 and June 17, 1958, five significant roll calls were taken on amendments proposed to the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. One of these would have permitted the States to exercise jurisdiction in the "no man's land" that is created when the National Labor Relations Board declines to act; Johnson refused to accept even this small degree of States' rights. Two other amendments, both sponsored by Senator Knowland, would have protected a union member's right of secret ballot; Johnson opposed both of them. A fourth amendment was intended to prevent the use of union dues for political purposes unrelated to collective bargaining; Johnson voted nay. The fifth was designed to give employers some protection against the brutally unfair device of secondary boycotts and hot cargo coercion; again Johnson voted nay.

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The following spring, April 22-24, 1959, these same questions came up again. Johnson was nothing if not consistent. He voted against McClellan's "Bill of Rights" amendment; he voted against a "no man's land" provision; he voted against an extension of the secondary boycott ban to unions not covered by Taft-Hartley. This record would seem to be sufficient penance, in labor's eyes, for the mortal sin Johnson committed in voting for the Taft-Hartley Act 13 years ago, but the Senator's old conservative image comes back to the banquet halls like Banquo's ghost. "We worked night and day in Los Angeles to get Kennedy nominated," said Reuben Soderstrom, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO, "but the Democrats made chumps of us and gave us Johnson anyway. There isn't a labor official in the country who feels good about the Johnson thing."

BROTHER SODERSTROM, there aren't many Southerners who feel good about the Johnson thing either. The week after the Los Angeles convention, a remarkable form letter came to newspaper offices across the country, the literary labor of one of the Senator's fans in Houston. This gentleman proposed that groups of 30 persons be formed, each of whom would deposit a nickel in a mite box labeled "Late Blooming Judas," with a message inside to LBJ: "Judas had his 30 pieces of silver. Here are yours." In Charleston, S. C., Tom Waring of the *News & Courier* termed Johnson's nomination "a masterful stroke of political fraud." In Augusta, Roy V. Harris of the *Courier*, a choleric fellow in his calmer moments, fairly outdid himself: "There is no force on earth sufficient to make me swallow John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and the damnable platform which they are trying to ram down our throats." In Mississippi, where Congressman John Bell Williams had remarked in February that he believed more Southerners would vote for Adam Clayton Powell than for Lyndon Johnson, rebellious forces headed by Governor Ross Barnett prepared to carry the State for uncommitted electors.

Love that Lyndon? Not down South. And it was down South that the Senator was expected to charm the Byrds from the trees. In the light of recent Presidential history, it is difficult to understand the professionals' faith in such a gambit. The beloved Alben Barkley was put on the ticket in 1948: the electors of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and one maverick from Tennessee went for the States' Rights ticket anyhow. In 1952, Sparkman of Alabama was the sop, and in 1956, Kefauver of bordering Tennessee was the putative appeal; each time, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia went Republican.

WHAT OF NOVEMBER? Things are different this year. Nixon is no Eisenhower, but Kennedy, at the same time, has liabilities that Adlai Sevenson never had to cope with. The movement toward independent electors is not nearly as well organized, *so far*, as the States' Rights movement of 1948. Many Democratic officeholders, such as Virginia's Governor Almond, are publicly supporting the national ticket; they haven't had a judgeship for eight years, and they hunger for the old days of Presidential patronage. If the Los Angeles convention had put Symington on the ticket, or Washington's affable Senator Jackson, or almost anyone but Humphrey, the South probably would have returned, grumbling, to the Democratic fold.

It is an ironic commentary on the illogical character of Southern politics that the convention chose instead the man least likely to help the ticket where the ticket needs help the most. For Lyndon is known as the Southerner who turned his back on the South, and the South, ever sensitive to deliberate slight, may yet turn its back on Lyndon.

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HUMAN EVENTS
COMMENTARY

This is still a land of opportunity. Where else could a man borrow money at 6 per cent to pay his taxes?

—CHARLES RUFFIN

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Real Republicanism Can Win For GOP

By Raymond Moley

We are already getting, in dispatches and commentaries from Washington, D. C., and New York, two assertions which need contradiction or qualification before readers and hearers accept them as facts. One is that the Republican party is a minority, and the other is that a Republican candidate must direct his appeal primarily toward "Democrats and Independents" in order to win.

These are, at the best, those dangerous half-truths which can lose rather than win the election for a Republican candidate. And they have in the past 20 years lost three elections—one for Willkie, and two for Dewey.

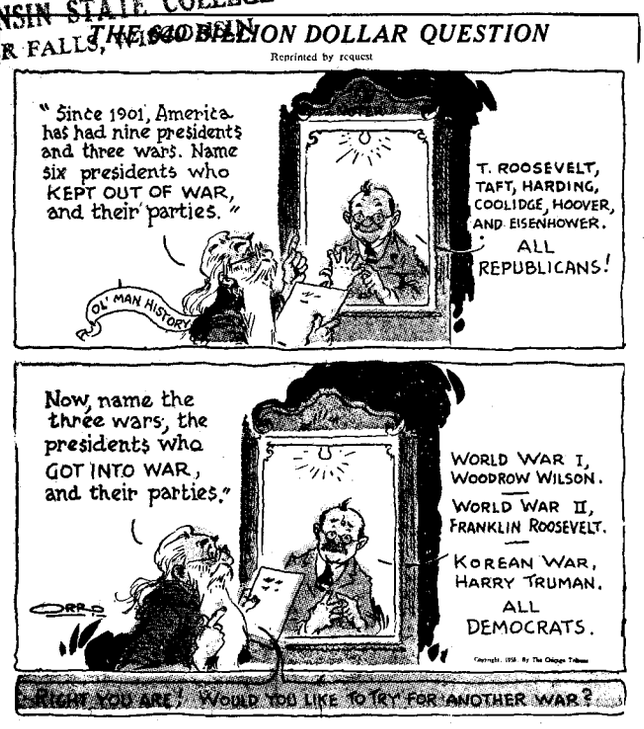
It was recently asserted in a number of dispatches that the Republican national headquarters in Washington had issued a statement that Democrats outnumber Republicans by three to two.

To make that statement is good campaign strategy. Technically it is true, especially when it is based upon the disastrous year 1958. It is intended to spur local organizations to greater efforts.

But the wise man who was from 1952 to 1959 campaign director of the Republican National Committee, Robert Humphreys, pointed out the danger of accepting this sort of estimate without adding certain facts. He said that it is true that generally the total vote for Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives is higher than that cast for Republican candidates. But there are from 70 to 80 districts, mostly in the South, in which there is no Republican opposition. Also, where there is opposition, it is only nominal. Humphreys proved that if these districts were eliminated, the Republican vote would be considerably higher than the Democratic vote. There are also gerrymandered districts everywhere in the states outside the South in which opposition is only nominal. Some of these are Republican; others, Democratic.

Moreover, as in the past five Presidential elections there are strong citizens' organizations working only for the Presidential candidate on the Republican ticket. "Citizens for Willkie" was an example. That sort of appeal is a direct invitation to split the ticket. Because of it, candidates for Congress and the state legislatures are forgotten, and their vote slumps below that of the head of the ticket. Nixon well knows that danger, and such groups will be more tightly bound to the Republican organization this year. The soundest political strategy is to work hard to get out votes for the little fellows on the ticket first. Then every extra vote gotten out will go to the head of the ticket, too.

It must be noted that there is nothing but the name Democrat to relate most of the Congressmen from uncontested districts in the South to the majority that wrote the platform and selected the candidate at Los Angeles. Nixon's appeal to those conservative voters will be very strong indeed, and the result will be apparent in the election.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"Since 1901, America has had nine presidents and three wars. Name six presidents who KEPT OUT OF WAR, and their parties."
OL' MAN HISTORY
T. ROOSEVELT, TAFT, HARDING, COOLIDGE, HOOVER, AND EISENHOWER. ALL REPUBLICANS!
Now, name the three wars, the presidents who GOT INTO WAR, and their parties."
WORLD WAR I, WOODROW WILSON.
WORLD WAR II, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.
KOREAN WAR, HARRY TRUMAN.
ALL DEMOCRATS.
RIGHT YOU ARE! WOULD YOU LIKE TO TRY FOR ANOTHER WAR?

Another circumstance which gives the Democratic Party a technical majority is in the registration figures. These are meaningless in terms of real preferences. This is especially true of the three states I have visited during the past three weeks—California, Oregon, and Washington. Party ties are very loose out here. People register according to their past traditions or by habit. But in the elections in all three states, Republican governors have been generally elected over the past 20 years.

The important fact which needs clarification by the candidates this year is that the Democratic Party has been transformed since Roosevelt was first elected 28 years ago. It stands for the exact opposite from what it advocated before that. The whole voting population is now in a state of flux, seeking new moorings and new Party affiliations. If, as is probable, Nixon proves wiser than Dewey, and Willkie, he will seek to align with his Party the millions who cannot subscribe to the radical sentiments dominant at Los Angeles. With that sort of appeal, with his firm belief in building up the strength of his party at the local level, we may see a real realignment of the two Parties, with either fairly equal strength or a Republican majority. But to assume that all Democrats are radical and to make a radical appeal would lose conservatives, under both party names.

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Germany Gives Clue on Taxes

From the Houston Chronicle

West Germany has been enjoying such rapid economic growth of late that it has become necessary to apply the brakes. Not only is there a job ready for every East German refugee who crosses the border but Italian workmen have been imported. Investment in capital goods has increased a startling 12 per cent in the past year.

The United States, on the contrary, has a good deal of unemployment and almost everyone says that our economic growth is at too slow a rate.

Now let's see what is being done there, and proposed here, to deal with these two contrasting problems.

Taxes Slow Growth

The Germans have just put tax increases into effect. They know that this will siphon off more of the earnings of individuals and corporations and take the edge off their boom. They know it will put the brakes on the building of factories for which no workers are available, and in general slow down a too rapid rate of economic growth.

Here in our own country the economists who are talking most about the necessity of stimulating our rate of economic growth want to do it by increasing government expenditures. But that, of course, would require higher taxes—or else more deficit financing.

It Doesn't Make Sense

In other words, these economists want to use the very device—higher taxes—to stimulate our economy that the Germans are using to deflate their boom. Obviously there is something wrong here somewhere.

And what is wrong? Well, we might consider how the Germans achieved the economic growth that now has been getting out of hand.

They did it by reducing taxes. Over the years Bonn has cut tax levies time and again in order to increase investment and thus increase employment.

Tax reduction had that effect there. Why wouldn't it do the same thing here?

High Taxes for Years

Our taxes have been high for years and the rate of our economic growth is faltering. To reduce them would be to stimulate investment in plant, consequently increase employment and hike the rate of economic growth.

Further, the government probably would find its revenues raised, not lowered. That's what happened when taxes were cut in the 1920's.

A moderate tax reduction bill is before Congress—the Herlong-Baker bill, which over a period of five years would bring the basic income tax rate down from 20 to 15 per cent and the corporation tax from 52 to 47 per cent. The only question is whether it or a more liberal tax reduction plan should be adopted.

Rocky Would 'Serve' Nation On His Remarkable Terms

From the Chicago Tribune

New York associates of Governor Nelson Rockefeller say that the governor, having persuaded Mr. Nixon of the need to create a "first secretary" in the executive department to preside over national security and international affairs, might take the job under certain conditions. The conditions are remarkable.

Cloak of Protection

Mr. Rockefeller is said to have stipulated that the powers of this new office should be fortified by statutory protection against the "whim" of the President. This would seem to mean that the "first secretary" could neither be removed nor overruled by the President once he was appointed.

The position, equivalent to that of a prime minister in power and to that of a British permanent undersecretary in tenure, would undermine the authority of the President and break the chain of executive responsibility. Under this scheme, the President could adopt one policy and the "first secretary" another, and both could remain in office with no means of resolving the conflict.

Mr. Rockefeller originally proposed, and Mr. Nixon accepted, creation of yet another new post for "planning and management of domestic affairs." This, too, was incorporated in the party platform. If the "first secretary" over defense and foreign affairs were to be granted the immunities said to be sought by Mr. Rockefeller, it is certain that the planning and management boss would demand similar status.

Three Presidents

The result would be that there would not be one President, exercising the powers allotted to him in the Constitution and with complete authority over his subordinates, but the equivalent of three co-equal Presidents. Such an organization of government would be fantastic. About the only way that anarchy could be prevented in the event of a dispute would be for the actual President to yield.

Governor Rockefeller has advanced many glib notions about the nature and conduct of national policy, but these ideas of streamlining executive management, if they actually reflect his views, are best described as goofy. Republican policy as redefined at the convention in Chicago is ambiguous at best, but nobody could prophesy where it was headed if three officers independent of one another were all trying to run the country at once.

Patriotism Isn't Dead

From the Manchester Guardian
(Britain's leading liberal newspaper)

A large number of Americans, from far-sighted manufacturers to dizzy progressives, gave their enthusiastic sympathy to the beginnings of Castro's regime; but the prime lesson of Cuba is an old one—that one's own interests still come first, that national security, for all peoples, still takes priority over international enlightenment, that the old emotions of patriotism and survival still stir atavistically behind the reasonable argument or the beatnik beard.

Public Interest Pressures Times Into Reviewing Goldwater's Book

From America's Future

Senator Goldwater's book appeared more than four months ago. Its success has been phenomenal. With little or no promotion or advertising, nearly 70,000 copies of the hardcover edition have been sold, and a papercover edition is now being issued. But for nearly three months, not a line appeared in the *Times Sunday Book Review* about this book. Then, more than a month ago, it actually turned up on the *Times'* own bestseller list. Obviously, the *Times* could no longer ignore it. So it finally ran a review—away back on page 14, of course, and in a single column. Who was the reviewer? He is a member of the *Times'* staff. He is a very nice guy, but he was once a socialist—and may still be, for all I know. He is certainly a modern "liberal." Not being able to answer Senator Goldwater's hard-hitting arguments, he did the next best thing from the *Times'* standpoint. He tried to make fun of the book.

The reviewer's bias being what it is, he cannot be blamed for thus trying to dismiss a serious and thoughtful book. The important point is this: Why is it that the *Times Sunday Book Review*—with great pretensions to fairness and objectivity—so consistently assigns conservative, anti-communist books to "liberal" reviewers who are often soft on communism?

This is not the first time this same reviewer was assigned a hatchet-job on a conservative book. It happens rather frequently—whenever the *Times* feels it must review, rather than just ignore a conservative book. A year or so ago, in a similar incident, a reader wrote to the publisher of the New York *Times*. He got an amazing reply. The publisher declared it was no concern of his whether the reviewer was a socialist or not. By the same token, I suppose the *Times'* publisher, in his great "tolerance," would be willing, let us say, to assign a hatchet-job on a book about Jesus Christ to an atheist. However, even this would be within his rights. But it is also within the rights of us to know the facts before we accept the New York *Times Sunday Book Review* as the "authority" it pretends to be.

—JOHN T. FLYNN

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Census Questions Lag In Housing

From the Economic Intelligence

During the great depression of the 1930's, during World War II and early postwar, there was indeed a housing shortage.

"Doubling up," that is, married couples living with others, might indicate a housing shortage, although in the depression, it was more a reflection of unemployment.

The Bureau of the Census last month found that out of some 52.6 million households, among married couples' households (42.2 million) less than one million contained married couples without their own households. In 1940, of nearly 29 million married couples, more than 1.9 million were without their own households, or 6.8%.

After World War II, this figure reached 8.7% and thereafter it continued to decline until it reached a figure of 2.8% in 1959 and now stands at 2.4% —a new low.

This improvement in housing is a reflection of our general sustained high levels of production and employment opportunities, as well as a high rate of new housing starts since the end of World War II.

Housing starts have been running at a rate of about 1.4 to 1.5 millions for the last decade. In spite of this great improvement, there are still some people who keep crying "Housing shortage." They are setting national targets of "2 million starts per year," just as though nothing has happened since the war and early postwar.

Just why we should have 2 million starts rather than 3 million or 1 million is not made clear. It seems that the consumer ought to make this decision rather than national planners or target setters. If he wants more housing, the building materials suppliers, the contractors and construction labor are available to build more. But any arbitrary or round figure target looks as if it is just that—an arbitrary, round figure.

There Is A Difference

There is a difference between the two parties, says Clinton Rossiter in his new book, *Parties and Politics in America*:

"Look deep into the soul of a Democrat and you will find plans to build 400,000 units of public housing and to ship 300 tractors to Ghana. Look deep into the soul of a Republican and you will find he hopes for a reduction in taxes and a balanced budget."

Democrats Are Responsible For 96.5% Of National Debt

From the Political Reporter

Who is to blame for the debt?

Republicans say the Democrats are responsible for 96.5% of the net deficit created between 1901 and 1960. And they have figures to prove it.

During the first 60 years of this century Republicans and Democrats shared occupancy of the White House about equally. The GOP controlled the Presidency during 32 of those years and the opposition party held administrative responsibility for the remaining 28 years.

Shocking Lack of Responsibility

An analysis of the fiscal record of both parties over the same three score years, made by Senator John J. Williams (R.-Del.), shows, however, a shocking absence of equality in this area of responsibility.

So that his analysis would show complete impartiality, Senator Williams added to the Republican side of the ledger the fiscal years 1948 and 1949 for which President Truman disclaimed any responsibility. This gave Republicans 34 years to account for and gave the Democrats 26 years.

Credit for a surplus or a deficit was assigned to the party in power at the beginning of a fiscal year. Thus, Senator Williams was able to reveal in the Congressional Record of July 1 that, during their 34 years, Republicans were responsible for a mild net deficit of $9,654,000,000 while the Democrats were responsible for a whopping $268,476,000,000 deficit in the eight years less time they occupied the White House.

This record breaks down to a division of 96.5% being the Democrat share and 3.5% being the Republican share.

20 Surplus Years

Interest payments on the Federal debt account for 12% of Federal expenditures in the current fiscal year. Noting this fact, Senator Williams laid the blame for 11.6% of the Federal Budget to the Democratic share of interest payments; less than one-half of one per cent was attributed to Republicans.

Carrying this analysis even further, the Delaware Senator was able to report Republican surpluses in 20 of the 60 years since the turn of the century while Democrats can lay claim to only five years during which they were able to show a surplus. In the deficit category, Republicans were on the minus side 14 times while red ink showed up in 21 Democratic years.

Roosevelt Sons Disregard Eleanor At Conventions Of Both Parties

By Walter Trohan

Alice Roosevelt Longworth, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, was a guest at a small dinner party in the home of Vice President Nixon the day of the attempt to assassinate the prime minister of South Africa. There was general condemnation of assassinations in which Mrs. Longworth, long famed for her sly wit, did not join, until Nixon asked her opinion of the attempt.

"There is, after all, something to be said for assassination," she remarked in mock seriousness. "Where would the Roosevelts be had it not been for assassination?"

Mrs. Longworth went to Chicago for the convention show. She has attended Republican gatherings since her life in the White House was celebrated in the song, "Alice Blue Gown." In consoling a conservative delegate who was unhappy over the platform fight, she referred to her father's 1904 nomination in observing brightly:

"You say you have been losing convention battles since 1932. You are just a boy. I haven't really liked the outcome of a convention since 1904."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a distant cousin, has had her troubles with 1960's pair of conventions. In Los Angeles, where she was working for Adlai Stevenson, Mrs. Roosevelt heard the eldest of her four tall sons, James, second the nomination of Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.). Her third son, Franklin, Jr., was on the Kennedy team. In Chicago her youngest son, John, seconded Nixon's nomination.

Discipline Is Needed For School Vandals

Vandals do enough damage to New York City schools ($500,000 a year) to pay for a beautiful new school building ($2,000,000) every four years, according to New York City school officials.

To reduce the biggest item—broken windows ($400,000 a year)—officials want to cover the windows with sheet metal. Wire mesh screens reduced damage from stone-throwing except for basements, first and second floors where the vandals poked sticks through the mesh.

The "Eleanor" remedies are: more psychiatrists, more social workers, larger public welfare appropriations, more camps, and more public housing. The old-fashioned remedies are (a) punish, *not coddle, the delinquents* (b) allow teeners who do nothing in school but make trouble to seek jobs (c) get back to the common sense approach that children should be taught from infancy that this is a world of reciprocal relations. They will have to do as much for others as they expect others to do for them.

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Will 'Rat Pack' Infest White House?

By George Fowler

Veteran collector of Roosevelt lore, John T. Flynn, who with Westbrook Pegler was a Sandburg-in-reverse regarding the Hyde Park Dynasty, once wrote concerning Eleanor's patronage of odd leftist characters under the White House roof: "A member of Congress, an ardent New Dealer, visited the White House one morning. While there he saw [a member] of the national board of the [Communist cited] American Youth Congress come out of one of the bedrooms. He couldn't believe his eyes . . . this little Commie tool had been occupying that room for two weeks and sleeping in the bed Lincoln had slept in."

When the Eleanorniks left the White House in 1945 for the New York *Post* and other safe harbors, a degree of calm descended on 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Credit for the change goes not to Hurricane Harry Truman of four letter word fame, but to the gentle exertions of his humble country girl wife, Bess.

Putting Green

Since the Eisenhower era began in 1953, the most sensational news to come out of the nation's first residence was that a putting green had been installed on the White House lawn.

Should Nixon be elected, America will doubtless become familiar with the picture of a handsome matron and her two budding teenage daughters against the background of the great white columns. "Checkers" will be the first celebrated White House pooch since FDR's "Fala." Nixon—regardless of whether you tune in to Herblock or Herb Klein—is admittedly a man of quiet efficiency, and quiet efficiency would doubtless be the order of things with Pat Nixon as First Lady.

Sinatra is Boss

This isn't to say that the other White House possibility—the Kennedys—are not efficient. They're putting on a by-the-numbers campaign this year that tabs them as the best coached Irish team since Knute Rockne ran the Notre Dame gridiron. But just how quiet and conventional things will be around the White House should the Pink Shamrock get in is anybody's guess. For the Kennedys—Jack, Jackie, Bobby, Ethel, Ted and Joan—like other young sociables, have friends. And friends to the young Kennedys have increasingly come to mean a Hollywood clique which calls itself the "Rat Pack." Boss of the "Rat Pack" is Frank Sinatra, who recorded Jack Kennedy's Wisconsin primary campaign song. It includes actors Peter Lawford, Dean Martin and Tony Curtis, actress Shirley MacLain (who had hardly finished campaigning for Caryl Chessman at San Quentin before bolting to Los Angeles for the Democratic show) and Negro singer Sammy Davis, Jr. "Pack" leader Sinatra attempted last spring to punch John Wayne (a spectacle fistic experts liken to Dr. Albert Schweitzer trying to rough up a Pittsburgh Steeler lineman) after the staunchly anti-Communist Wayne criticized Sinatra for hiring a Fifth Amendment Communist screenwriter to write his next screenplay. Senator Kennedy, on the campaign trail at the time, avoided comment on the affair. But apparently Frankie's actions didn't put him too deep in dutch with Kennedy, for he was very much in evidence during the pre-balloting stages of the Democratic convention. While Bobby and Ted Kennedy bullied delegates with the "hard sell," it was the job of Sinatra and Peter Lawford to mingle on the floor and apply the "soft sell" with their Hollywood charm. The other "Rat Pack" members entertained the Democratic delegates.

"Charlie Snob"

Lawford's connection with the Kennedys is of course closer than that of the others in the clan. He is Jack Kennedy's brother-in-law, married to the former Patrica Kennedy. Sinatra called Patricia in London to tell her of the good news after Jack's West Virginia primary victory. Patricia told Frankie over the Atlantic cables: "I know. This means we'll be rolling eggs on the White House lawn next Easter." According to movie columnists, Lawford is perhaps Sinatra's most devoted "Rat Pack" follower. Frank gave Peter his "Rat Pack" nickname—"Charlie Snob." Lawford even carried this allegiance to his clan onto TV with him. During one installment of the "Thin Man" series his stage dog appeared wearing a sweater with "Rat Pack" emblazoned on it. During the few months of relaxation at the Los Angeles victory binge, the Kennedys and members of the "Rat Pack" enjoyed the lush social gatherings peculiar to the outgoing Southern California civilization.

In-Law Trouble

But it would be unfair to impugn that it is all play and no work—at least work in the field of human relations—between the Kennedys and the "Rat Pack." During the convention, New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Earl Mazo reported: "One of the intriguing sidelines of the Democratic convention is the frantic effort of Frank Sinatra and other Hollywood friends of Senator John F. Kennedy to keep a searing feud between the Senator's father and an in-law from breaking into the open. Lady Lawford, mother of Senator Kennedy's brother-in-law, the actor Peter Lawford, has been sounding off to some reporters about her intense dislike for Joseph P. Kennedy . . . ." Mazo stated that members of the "Rat Pack" (he mentioned Sammy Davis, Jr., Dean Martin and Lawford) approached reporters with "firm requests" not to write the stories "at this time."

Covered the Trail

And so it is that these two famous groups—one headed by a man who has an even chance of becoming our next President, the other by a man who is still with us because of the Christian instincts of John Wayne—have covered quite a stretch of trail together.

Would John F. Kennedy as President be so callous as to shut the White House gates to Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis, Jr. and the rest of the "Rat Pack?" Will Peter Lawford be forced to meet his pals on the outside rather than offer them the hospitality of his brother-in-law's new home? Is there any law against setting up a few dice tables in the Green Room? And will Lady Lawford finally bury the hatchet with Joe Kennedy?

For the answers, tune in next January —assuming of course that the American voters don't show themselves to be thorough bluenoses by voting for Nixon and spoiling all the fun.

Army Has 15-Year Lapse Of Memory

From the Los Angeles Times

Two news stories comprise a recent intelligence report on army logistics:

The ordnance department is busily trying to make amends for somehow forgetting that it had stored 1 million dollars' worth of parts for World War II model motorcycles in a Georgia warehouse. This 15 year lapse of memory, according to the Wall Street Journal, has made the cache of parts virtually useless—except as scrap.

One unabashed officer explained it all away by saying that "the army has lots of things to do. It just didn't get around to doing this one."

What the Pentagon did get around to to doing was to decide that it wouldn't officially recognize the admission of Alaska and Hawaii until the quartermaster corps had used up all of its 48 star flags. The commandant at Fort MacArthur was told that flag requisitions would be two stars short until the supply was used up.

By the time the army finds all of the old flags it has stashed away, we will probably have admitted our 51st state.

Castro Hopes For Democrat Victory

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Cuba's Fidel Castro, critically ill of some mysterious illness, still has his own ideas about world affairs. Interviewed by an associate of mine, just back from Havana, the Cuban dictator was asked how the American people could best strengthen relations between the two countries.

"Elect a Democratic President," was the answer.

Castro's official radio, bitterly attacking the Republican Administration, in general, and President Eisenhower and UN Ambassador Lodge in particular, terms the nomination of Richard Nixon "displeasing."

The radio declares Nixon will continue with the policies of "aggression and imperialism" laid down by his mentor, the late John Foster Dulles.

Hush, Hush !

By Fletcher Knebel

One fellow at the Central Intelligence Agency says his job is so secret, if he knew what he was supposed to be doing, he'd be fired.

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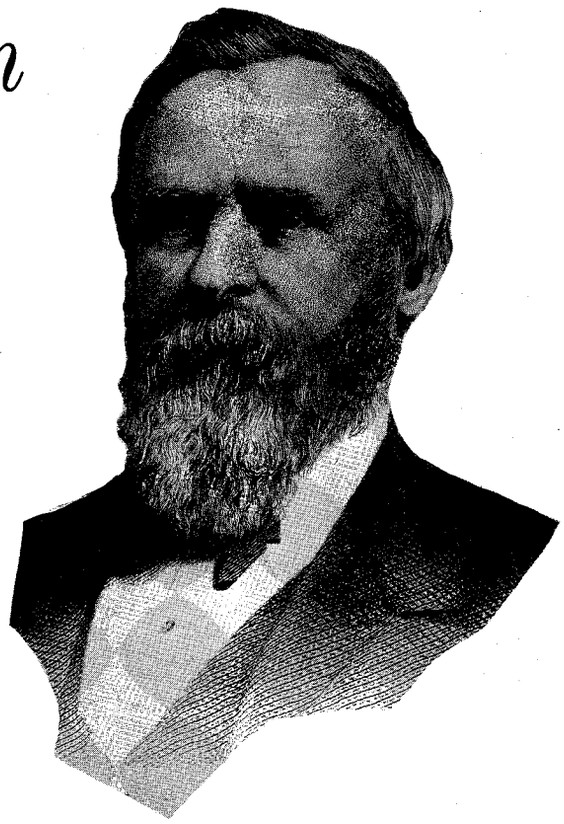

Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President by ONE vote in the electoral college.

The count, being challenged, was referred to an electoral commission—where Hayes won by ONE vote.

ONE vote was cast by a Congressman from Indiana who was himself elected by ONE vote.

ONE vote was cast for that Congressman by a close personal friend who got up from his sickbed to go to the polls.

Hayes ran for the Presidency promising to accept only one term. He asserted that the Reconstruction Period, with its terror, could be ended only by a President who need give no consideration to political expediency.

HAYES KEPT HIS PROMISES.

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HUMAN EVENTS
COMMENTARY

Each appeaser hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough, the crocodile will eat him last.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL

Vol. XVII, No. 34 — Section V

August 25, 1960

Captive Nations Haunt Democrats

F.D.R., Truman Condoned Russia's Major Land Grabs

From the Chicago Tribune

The other day Senator Kennedy assured the leaders of 55 immigrant nationality groups that a Democratic administration would never abandon the peoples of captive nations behind the iron curtain. We do not question his sincerity but his memory; he forgot when it was that Russia managed to scoop up just about every country now captive.

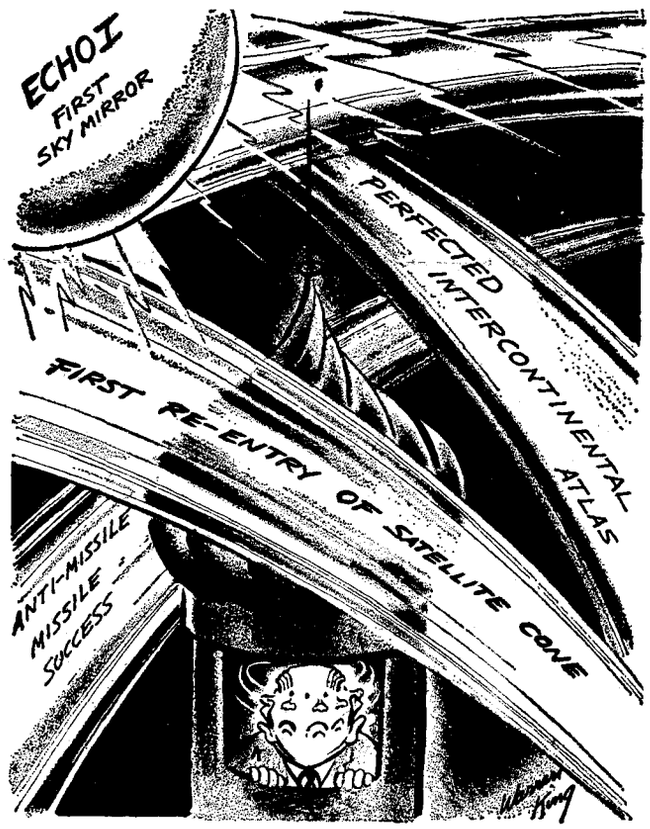
Since the defeat of the Democrats in 1952, the iron curtain has stayed firmly put except in Tibet. The Communists have lost prestige in Western Europe; their attempts to take over Guatemala and the Indian state of Kerala have failed, and their bid for Cuba may be bogging down.

This is in startling contrast to the success of the Russians during the Roosevelt and Truman years. Time after time, our government entered into naive agreements which Russia was permitted to disregard and which, in the end, gave her control of all Eastern Europe.

In Poland, Stalin was permitted to keep his puppet government on his promise, to Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta, to hold "free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal sufferage and secret ballot." Such elections were never held.

In East Germany, the Russian zone was established at the Potsdam conference, in which Mr. Truman participated. Russia agreed not to settle the Polish frontier until the final peace treaty, to encourage democratic political parties, and to treat all Germany as a single economic unit. All three promises have been broken.

The Republicans did not take over the State Department until 1953. In Rumania in 1947 the leader of the opposition National Peasants party was jailed and the king abdicated, and in 1948 the Rumanian Orthodox church was abolished. In Bulgaria in 1947 the leader of the Agrarian party was hanged and the party dissolved. Czechoslovakia was forced to withdraw from the Marshall plan and in 1948 President Benes was ousted and a "peoples' democracy" declared. In Hungary opposition leaders were jailed in 1948, as was Cardinal Mindszenty, and the Russian army stayed there "to protect the lines of communication to Austria." Yugoslavia and Albania were likewise absorbed.



The United States sent occasional notes of protest, but the Russians usually replied that they were "powerless to intervene" in the domestic affairs of their satellites. No attempt was made, after the war, to get Russia out of the Baltic states, even though we never recognized its occupation of them.

In the early postwar years, Russia was in no position to oppose Britain and the United States, and firm action on our part could have saved the freedom of the now captive countries. Mr. Truman can be credited with saving Greece and Turkey, but by the time Mr. Eisenhower was elected, Russia had consolidated its position elsewhere and recovered much of its strength. When the Hungarians revolted in 1956 it was too late for us to intervene without the serious danger of war.

Mr. Kennedy's party did not prevent the capture of the captive countries. We don't know what he means when he says he will not abandon them now, but his party's leaders did abandon them when there still was a good chance of saving them.

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Debate Still Flows Freely On Sacco-Vanzetti 'Tragedy'

From the New York Daily News

On April 15, 1920, at South Braintree, Mass., a factory paymaster and his guard—Frederick A. Parmenter and Alessandro Berardelli—were shot and killed by two thugs.

The thugs made their getaway in a car with a third man. They took along the payroll money ($15,775) which Parmenter and Berardelli had been carrying in two black boxes.

At Dedham, Mass., May 31-July 14, 1921, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were tried for the murder before Judge Webster Thayer and a jury, and were found guilty.

On August 23, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.

The case was the most widely discussed politico-murder affair of the 1920's, and one of the most celebrated in the history of the United States.

On TV

It is still echoing here and there. A recent TV show tried to keep crowns of martyrdom securely pinned on Sacco and Vanzetti . . . .

What is the truth about the case? Were these men martyrs, or murderers? And why have so many people been so long in the dark about the correct answer to that question?

The "martyr" theory was fanned up by radicals and "liberals," and was based on the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti were a couple of anarchists (not Communists) who liked to distribute crazy, down-with-everything pamphlets.

Anti-Red Excitement

They were alleged to have been victims of the anti-Red excitement that swept the nation after World War I (with good cause), and of the hateful intolerance of New England aristocrats and businessmen who had no use for the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press.

This "martyr" theory is discussed in a new book by Robert H. Montgomery —and it seems to us, is exploded beyond repair.

Mr. Montgomery, a practicing Massachusetts lawyer, has examined the trial record, tracked down some of the witnesses, interviewed jurors who served on the case, and sifted all the evidence from all the angles.

The book is called "Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth"; Devin-Adair Co., New York; 370 pages, $5.

Montgomery reaches the solemn conclusion that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty as charged, got a fair trial, and were justly executed.

This factual, gripping book has all the excitement of a murder story by Erle Stanley Gardner or Mignon Eberhart. We recommend it to anybody who wants to separate the facts from the fiction regarding Sacco and Vanzetti.

We also recommend it (and are devoting a full-column editorial to it) because it exposes unmercifully the ways in which radicals and "liberals" go about making "martyrs" of common, everyday criminals, in the hope of convincing millions of Americans that they live in a rotten, tyrannical country where only people of means can get justice in the courts.

Doctoring Evidence

These martyr-makers will go to any length in manufacturing, suppressing or doctoring evidence. Some of their favorite methods are described in detail in Montgomery's book.

They will try to intimidate or bribe witnesses and jurors. If the "martyr" finally gets what's coming to him, the martyr-makers will blacken the names of all who had anything to do with convicting him, and will write books, plays and operas "vindicating" the fellow.

Believe it or not, two of the various respected citizens who helped greatly in making martyrs of Sacco and Vanzetti were Felix Frankfurter and the late Robert Benchley.

On Guard

It is too much to hope that this one book of Mr. Montgomery's will kill off this particular radical technique and put Americans on guard against the martyr-makers.

But it should help considerably—especially if, after the $5 edition has sold as many copies as may reasonably be expected, some paperback publisher picks it up and reissues it, complete and unabridged, at 50c or 75c a copy.

Foreign Affairs Advice Of Abe Lincoln Recalled

From the Indianapolis Star

Wouldn't it be fine if just one candidate for public office promised to conduct the foreign affairs of the United States on the basis of the following advice, "Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to the end to do our duty as we understand it."

—Abraham Lincoln,
Cooper Institute, Feb. 27, 1860

Trine Corporation

The Trine Manufacturing CORPORATION, New York, N. Y., and the Trine Manufacturing COMPANY referred to in the August 4 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, page 328, are entirely unrelated. The Trine Manufacturing CORPORATION, unlike the Trine Manufacturing COMPANY, is "very much in business and very much alive."

Minority Seals Farmers' Fate

From the Indianapolis Star

A favorite game with children of another generation was one known as "Let's Suppose." There are some good points of that game which can be applied to the government farm program of today.

Let's suppose that 890,000 farmers in America had an opportunity to express their views on a certain issue which directly concerned their business for another year. Let's suppose that these farmers are the backbone of agriculture in the United States. Let's suppose that they are family farmers by and large, landowners and farm operators who are said to be independent men.

Let's suppose that more than 55 million acres of farmland was involved in the opinion to be given by these 890,000 farmers.

No Say-So

Let's suppose that another 1,250,000 farmers couldn't have a say-so in this matter, yet they controlled more than 10,000,000 more acres of farmland.

Let's suppose that this question involved millions of bushels in farm production, and billions of dollars in trade.

Then let's suppose that with such big things at stake, only 17 out of every 100 farmers who could express their opinions went to the trouble to do so. They could have done so easily. Because another part of the game is that the government spent thousands of dollars in money and thousands of man-hours in time to make it easy.

Childish?

Any adult would say that this is a pretty childish way to do things. Less than one out of five farmers controlled a program that is so vast, so important and so expensive.

Yet, none of these suppositions are fancy. They are all fact. The wheat marketing referendum this year was decided by 170,397 farmers out of 890,000 in an election which some government public relations man had the gall to term an "overwhelming" vote for controls.

If the wheat farmers themselves have this little interest in the vital issues facing their way of making a living, it would not seem too unreasonable to drop government controls on this crop. The political farm program has been a failure. The farmers have indorsed that view by staying away from their own special election.

The American wheat farmer would be better off free from a system in which such a small minority can control the actions of the vast majority.

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 34 August 25, 1960 Section I — News

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DEMOCRATS: *Losing the Defense Issue* ....(369)

POWERS: *And the Connally Amendment* ....(369)

NIXON: *Diplomatic tightrope faces him* .....(370)

MILITARY: *High level problems solved* .....(370)

LYNDON: *All's not well with LBJ and JFK* (372)

GOP Scores: The Republican Administration has scored heavily in one of the most important campaign issues—national defense—and the Democratic pundits have been forced to mute their prior assertions that the US under the Eisenhower regime has become a second-class military power.

In one day, Secretary of Defense Gates, his military men and scientists racked up so many successes that the forensics of such Democrats as Senator Symington have been reduced to absurdity. On August 12, they (1) sent aloft the world's first communications satellite, the ten-story high Echo I balloon; (2) announced plans for sending a chimpanzee on a round trip into space within a month; (3) sent an Air Force rocket-powered X-15 to a world's altitude record of 131,000 feet; (4) fired an Atlas ICBM 5000 miles over the Atlantic with radiation-study experimentation instruments; and (5) launched the Navy's Polaris missile on a 1000 mile course over the Atlantic.

According to U.P.I. reports the following day, the West European press commented that these achievements "appear to have given the US a lead over Russia in the race into space." Observers in Washington emphasize that US military power clearly exceeds that of Russia.

Hence, GOP politicos speculate that their party may well possess the clinching argument for re-election—the Ike Administration has made such marked progress in the arms race that it would be dangerous to "change horses in mid-stream."

It is recalled that the Roosevelt Administration in the election year 1944 hammered out this line. Although FDR was obviously a dying man, although Communist subversion loomed dangerously and Russian imperialism moved to take over Eastern Europe, FDR and his campaign managers were able successfully to persuade voters that a fourth term was necessary to achieve victory over the Axis and to "bring the boys home." (At the time, a wag who saw through FDR cracked: "Don't change Trojan horses in mid-stream.")

Today, Ike can substantiate his claim that the defense effort has proved successful and he can be counted on to reiterate these claims in appropriately important rostrums between now and November.

For the defense record continues to soar. On August 15, the Army announced that an improved Nike-Hercules guided missile had "killed" a sister missile over the range in New Mexico. The sister "target" missile was intercepted by the attacking Hercules at exactly the point computed by new ground equipment. This is the start of the next Buck Rogers development, the anti-missile missile which ere long reportedly will have the capability to knock off ICBM missiles before they near the targets.

Today, the considered opinion among those who study our defense progress is, as follows: the US is now approximately 20 per cent ahead of the Russians in missilery.

Powers' Trial: Ike's denunciation of the strange judicial procedure of the Powers trial in Moscow was considered timely, particularly in view of the upcoming American Bar Association meeting in Washington to debate, among other matters, the Connally Amendment to the World Court act.

One-worlders want us to give up the Connally Amendment which reserves for the US the right to determine when a particular matter is domestic in character and hence not properly within the jurisdiction of the World Court. These one-worlders want the US to subordinate its domestic law to some nebulous "international law," a taste of which is provided by the Moscow trial of Powers.

Frank Holman, former President of the ABA, reminds lawyers that the World Court "may even conceivably become a tribunal with a majority of its members elected by the General Assembly [of the UN] from Communist, pro-Communist and backward countries."

What happens to procedures laid down in our Bill of Rights when a trial is held behind the Iron Curtain appears in the treatment of Powers. The American flier was deprived of the right to choose his own counsel; he was held incommunicado for a long time; he was not entitled to demand change of venue (from the propaganda-charged atmosphere of Moscow), etc. In the US, any one of these procedures forced on Powers would be cause for reversal of the verdict by higher courts.

Regarding the Powers case, Holman told HUMAN EVENTS: "The difference between our system of jurisprudence, where the defendant has vast legal safeguards and is presumed innocent until proven guilty, and that of Russia and many other countries is extreme. The Powers case dramatizes the difference and clearly shows that we can ill afford to surrender our legal rights in dealing with other nations."

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Pitfalls for Nixon: Despite Ike's triumph on the matter of our defense policy, observers keep their fingers crossed on the outcome of the Nixon-Kennedy battle. While Ike appears a source of strength for the GOP Presidential candidate, many in Washington on Nixon's side fear that Ike may prove a source of weakness. It was noted that last week, in his remarks in Maine, Nixon made it clear that he expected to take whatever "disadvantages" might come from association with the formulation of the Administration's foreign policy. It is known that Nixon has, at least privately, favored a much stiffer attitude toward Khrushchev than has Ike; and that Ike has blundered into softer attitudes *vis-a-vis* Red aggression which Nixon privately deplored.

Just now, it is reported that the Democratic-controlled Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee is probing much more deeply than formerly into the circumstances of our State Department policy on Cuba.

Many foreign policy observers believe that retiring Latin American Affairs Chief Roy Rubottom and colleagues purposely eliminated the anti-Communist Batista and put the Red Castro in power.

What may come of the Senate committee hearings may not reflect well on the Administration's record in dealings with Red aggression and subversion. They might give the Ike Administration, and by inference, Nixon, a black eye in the forensics of the present election campaign.

But what concerns Nixon's friends still more is another foreign policy matter which may develop. Will Khrushchev, as he has hinted, come to New York to attend the UN session circa September 20? And if so, will Ike go to New York and meet the dictator who has been outrageously insulting him and the US?

Questions to Ike at a press conference recently did not clear up his intentions as to such an eventuality. Nixon has outlined a clear and firm policy against Khrushchev as the bed-rock of his plea to the electorate to elect him President in November. Friends of the Vice President are apprehensive lest Ike may blunder into a "soft" attitude around September 20 which might irreparably damage Nixon's keystone policy.

As one veteran GOP pro expressed it: "It's deuces wild in this campaign and you can't tell what may happen. There is so much dynamite and TNT concealed here and there behind bushes that it would take a very brave man to discount sudden disastrous developments or to predict a certain outcome."

Election Speculation: The bobtail session of Congress may cost Kennedy a dangerous proportion of the Negro vote upon which he is counting, according to current judgment here. Jackie Robinson has written an especially angry column in the New York *Post* over the Kennedy-Johnson tabling of the civil rights bill. Roy Wilkins, NAACP secretary, said in a television interview that Federal aid to school construction should be forbidden to states resisting integration—a proposal that may further stir up Democratic dissension.

• Nixon aides were elated at the first Gallup poll showing Nixon leading Kennedy 50 to 44, with 6 per cent undecided. Expectation had been that Nixon would be the underdog. Second thoughts, however, were that the lead is not enough to provide victory. The Nixon command remembers that Tennessee's leading newspapers predicted Kefauver would be defeated on August 4 by Judge Taylor, yet Coonskin Estes won decisively. The postmortem verdict is that one important factor in the downfall of conservative Taylor was the superlative AFL-CIO work at the precinct level, which gave Kefauver at least a 10 per cent margin in getting out the vote. The Republican party has to depend upon volunteers at the precinct level. Hence, many dopesters believe that the GOP ticket will have to have at least a 55-45 margin in public opinion if the election returns are to be 51-49 in its favor.

Military Huddle: Emphasizing the new and stronger defense posture of the US, Secretary Gates last week quietly brought into Washington commanders (Army, Navy and Air) from our forces all over the world, for a conference—to find out what the generals and admirals want and need, and to sound them out as to how reliable are our well-financed allies.

As to the latter, the commanders give varying estimates. Those from the European theater report that our continental allies are talking tough, want no appeasement on the touchy Berlin situation, are ready to back us up against Russia. But those from the Far East say our allies out there show bad morale, reluctance to make a strong stand against Communist aggression.

They blame the sagging spirit on the failures of our diplomats—in Korea (where they ousted strong man Rhee) and in Japan, where the US striped-pants boys mishandled the unfortunate situation causing Ike to cancel his trip to Tokyo.

Much talk among the military brethren about the early replacement of NATO Commander Norstad, because of the latter's poor health. Gossip has it that he may be succeeded by Admiral Arleigh Burke, now Chief of Naval Operations. Both the Germans and the French reportedly want Burke because of the growing power of our Navy in Europe and the Mediterranean, with its missile cruisers and, in the near future, the Polaris submarines.

The Morse Code: Oregon's predictably unpredictable Senator Wayne Morse has served notice he is not entirely satisfied with his own (co-sponsored with Jack Kennedy) minimum wage bill, and plans to fight in coming sessions for far more extreme measures.

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The AFL-CIO-backed Morse-Kennedy bill would raise the minimum wage to $1.25 and extend coverage to 5 million more employees, leading to widespread unemployment for "marginal" workers. Unperturbed, Morse wants an even higher minimum, with 22 million more workers covered.

Morse's concern for the "downtrodden" struck syndicated columnist Fulton Lewis, Jr., as bitterly ironical, last week, as he exposed Morse's treatment of his own employees.

Lewis disclosed that less than two years ago Morse fired his gardener of 26 years because he was a supporter of President Eisenhower. Morse paid the 66-year-old gardener, D. F. Pickert, the grand total of $1 an hour.

Morse, who has called Ike "the most dangerous man who has been in the White House," asked his longtime employee for his impression of the Chief Executive. When Pickert replied that he thought Eisenhower "was a pretty fine man in my estimation," Morse lost control of himself.

Pickert described the scene:

"Wayne just blew off the plant. Oh, brother, I never saw a man get so mad. He got really tough, really hardboiled. He said his reason for firing me was that I couldn't work with him as he was a Democrat."

Several weeks later Morse wrote his ex-gardener:

"I'm very sorry it has become necessary to end our working relationship. However, I have found from experience that when one has such strong differences with my political views which you expressed, loyalty and friendship is (sic) sacrificed."

Capitol Camera: Senator Harry Byrd's blast against the Democratic platform plank calling for repeal of authorization for right-to-work laws may be followed by similar outbursts from other Southerners, all reflecting on the platform and—inferentially—on the ticket. It's Dixie's indirect way of expressing its disgruntlement with the top of the ticket.

• During his three terms in the House, Jack Kennedy was absent from 179 of 604 roll calls, or 29 per cent of the time. This year in the Senate he missed 120 of 159 roll calls—75 per cent absenteeism.

• *Michigan's GOP Representative Alvin Bentley, running for the Senate against Reutherite Democratic Senator Pat McNamara, has a conservative ACA Index rating of 88 per cent. McNamara scores a flat zero.*

• Frank Sinatra avidly backs his friend Jack Kennedy, while it has been announced that his Hollywood arch enemy, John Wayne, will work for the Republicans. Wayne recently named his favorite American of the century—Douglas MacArthur.

• *When Dick Nixon announced his brain trust last week, many thought that he should think about asking straight-shooting, economist-writer Henry Hazlitt to climb aboard. Hazlitt's* Newsweek *colleague, Raymond Moley, has been advising Nixon privately for some time.*

• Sam Rayburn said it was "silly" for Ike to think he could get 21 bills passed during the three-week special session of Congress. During its final two weeks last September (while hurrying to get out of town before Khrushchev arrived) Congress passed 436 bills, 191 in the House and 245 in the Senate.

• *Fletcher Knebel of the Washington* Star *states the Congo is suffering from a terrible disease: "Lumumbago."*

• Asking those who definitely declared themselves either conservatives or liberals, Gallup finds that 51 per cent would favor a conservative party.

• *A South Dakota Democratic convention delegate says he'll vote for Nixon because Kennedy was bulled through without discussion of his ability. Delegate Joe Poindexter indicated many Democrats in his state may back Senator Karl Mundt for re-election because Democrat George McGovern is "an ardent supporter of Kennedy," whom he termed a "welfare state" man.*

• After Lyndon Johnson came to the aid of Kefauver in Tennessee, the Kennedy forces picked up the tab for LBJ's unsuccessful nomination bid—a reported $30,000. Similarly, it now comes out that Adlai Stevenson backers, who enlisted Hubert Humphrey's aid in "stopping Kennedy" in L. A., picked up the tab for Hubert's campaign deficit.

• *It was Senator Dirksen who got the White House to remove Roy Rubottom as head of the State Department's Latin American Affairs Division. Rubottom is blamed for our disastrous Cuban policy, and Dirksen, sensing growing public indignation, insisted on Roy's head.*

Nik and Dick: Vice President Richard Nixon received his biggest boost of the campaign last week as left-wing trade unionist Joseph Curran returned from Moscow to report that Jack Kennedy was Nikita Khrushchev's choice for the Presidency.

Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, said Khrushchev told him that Kennedy had "common sense" and that Nixon was a "fumbler," a "grocery clerk."

Khrushchev's choice of Kennedy comes as no surprise to intelligence agencies monitoring the Com-

SID FULLER, Editor, Station KFI, Los Angeles: "The arrival of HUMAN EVENTS in my home each Monday is looked forward to with eagerness. Of all source material, your newsletter is far and away the most valuable and thought-provoking."

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munist radio around the globe. The Red attacks upon Nixon and the entire GOP—from Goldwater to Rockefeller—are among the most brutal ever heard.

Radio Moscow broadcasts that the Republican party stands for a "frenzied hatred of communism and the Soviet Union." Its leaders are "belligerent, bankrupt, isolationists, hated."

The East German radio declares that the GOP has "chosen about the two worst and most dangerous men, both as regards the cause of world peace and the well-being of the American people." It goes on to describe Presidential nominee Nixon as "the exponent of a highly reactionary policy which he clothes in a mantle of sophisticated demagogy."

Ambassador Lodge is termed a "zealous advocate of war, the scion of a patrician family who has nothing but contempt for non-Protestants and non-Anglo-Saxons."

While the East German Reds have nothing but venom for Nixon, there is little doubt how they regard Kennedy. The Democratic nominee is described as a "liberal in domestic matters" who "understands the need for coexistence."

Chortle the Reds:

"It is interesting to note that both the Democratic platform and Kennedy's acceptance speech did not contain the usual insistence upon the policy of strength . . . . They do justice to the fact that the two systems really exist, that they will probably continue to exist for some time and that there will be hard competition between them for the best possible satisfaction of mankind's needs.

"Moreover, observers stress that Kennedy appointed Adlai Stevenson, who has long advocated peaceful competition with the Soviet Union, to be one of his representatives to the White House."

LBJ: Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s August 11 radio report of how Lyndon Johnson sobbed in the sagebrush after his Los Angeles defeat has those who thought that all was well between the Texan and Jack Kennedy taking a second look.

Said Lewis: "After [the convention] was over and he went back to Texas, various of his friends came to visit at the LBJ ranch and found the situation so intolerable that they left before their intended stay was over. Several secretaries on his Washington staff also were at the LBJ ranch for days after his return and guests reported that they were in tears much of the time, because of Senator Johnson's emotional condition."

Reported in the Capital is that Johnson became so depressed over mail from Southern conservatives criticizing him for running with Kennedy that in one of his moods he blurted: "If that's the way they feel, I'll get off the ticket."

In addition, virtually every reporter on Capitol Hill has noted the lack of comradeship and consultation between the two men during the special session. Veteran newsmen consider this extremely strange for two candidates about to embark on a great campaign together. The question arises in Washington: "What will the consequences be should this ticket win and the President and Vice President enter into a bitter power struggle motivated by jealousy and personal dislike?"

Medical Aid: While Messrs. Kennedy and Johnson have now agreed to push through a massively expensive medical aid bill for the aged, some Congressmen, not bidding for the votes of 16 million oldsters, could find the typical needs of the average, non-institutionalized person over 65 by consulting a recent sociological study.

The study, part of a research paper on the problems of the aged, was made by professors of sociology James W. Wiggins and Helmut Schoeck of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.

Based on scientific sampling of the average person over 65, the study found that:

(1) 90 *per cent of the respondents said they were in good or fair health;*

(2) 92 per cent said they had no medical needs not already being taken care of;

(3) *Of the remaining* 8 *per cent, most claimed that reasons, other than financial, prevented them from getting medical aid;*

(4) 65 per cent were covered by major medical insurance;

(5) *Roughly* 70 *per cent said they would be able to pay an emergency medical bill costing* $1000 *and more, even if they had no medical insurance at all.*

Further, the study finds that most of the statistics generalizing about medical needs for the aged are based—not on the average person over 65—but on the number of elderly people who are already hospitalized or dependent.

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